

171 houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central
361 plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's
house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while accord-
ing to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá vil-
lage plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and
Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p.
106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrange-
ment of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles
standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the
northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest
house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that
these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with
the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which
[535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house
a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In
various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza,
moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The
[622] heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only
were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair
in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented
the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned
by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

591 According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matri-
114 local. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight
couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple desig-
nated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived
with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother
and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the
same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father,
in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead);
(3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that
is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and
24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead);
(4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that
is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the
wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

The men's moieties form the basis for Tapirapé ceremonial¹⁷⁸ and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is⁵⁶¹ divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two⁶¹⁶ groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two¹⁶¹ of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, race against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lazy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:— First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the⁵⁷⁴ older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirapé social¹⁷⁸ grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and⁵⁷¹ women. They are matrilineal for women and patrilineal for men.⁵⁷⁴ These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for¹⁶¹ ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depopulation¹⁷⁸ and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of⁶²² ¹⁶¹

a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591
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First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exo-gamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirã* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirã* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561
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[476]
[535]
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Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called *tãtãupawã* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574
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[773]

(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-98) did not recognize these *wirã* groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports three *wirã* groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirã* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that these are age groupings of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [114]

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the *tãtãupawã* "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

756 nions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves
789 from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

554 The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority.
622 Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "capitão". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

622 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must
554 themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a *čirikakántu*, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series
858 of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the *čirikakántu* are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

5616 (23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most *čirikakántu* are boys, although
562 girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two male "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

[114] (24) On this subject of chieftainship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "chef principal" and a "vice-chef". He considers such offices hereditary, the oldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next oldest becoming vice-chief (op. cit. page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of *čirikakántu* were generally passed on by parents to their oldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

716 and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both
 821 names of people. According to the Tapirapé, the moon is sister to the sun
 773 and is married to Anchopeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in
 776 dividing all birds into two groups,¹¹ and who taught Tapirapé how to
 821 wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to
 have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with
 black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirapé culture bearers. Apuwenonu¹²
 (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anun-
 tero, a Tapirapé woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirapé. At
 night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared
 to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton
 and how to spin. He taught the Tapirapé¹³ how to plant their modern
 garden products, maize, manioc, *cara*, yams. Finally Apuwenonu returned
 to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called
 Imauwango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirapé point to these two planets,
 recounting their story and saying, "Apuwenonu is young at night when he
 is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

821 Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are
 787 possibly only that called by the Tapirapé "the jaguar,"¹⁴ and the Pleiades.¹⁵
 One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar.
 He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar
 of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirapé. "Men
 would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become
 one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles
 with other shamans.

821 The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously
 805 and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the
 796 western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

• [616] ¹¹ At the present time men's societies are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of
 [81] each society carries the name of a bird: one being species of small papagais, and the other
 [825] species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions
 of the bird world in which Anchopeteri lived.

[171] ¹² This is probably identical with Manan (or Maie-manan, according to Métraux), civil-
 izing god of Tupinambá, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the
 Tupinambá to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was
 transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

¹³ One text calls them Karajiguwera (pre-Tapirapé) at this time (see p. 254).

[171] ¹⁴ Ancient Guaraní said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions
 ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapoceto-Guaraní speak of a celestial jaguar;
 and the Chané from Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*,
 p. 90.

[171] ¹⁵ "Les Pleiades paraissent avoir été chez les Tupinambá l'objet de croyances particulières.
 Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux,
Religion des Tupinambá, p. 91.

Ta "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my
262 impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara
Te villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch.
262 The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do
168 not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size.
Ta Population control among the Tapirapé seems to result from a direct
168 limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In
183 other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in
262 subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family
limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the
organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particu-
larly desirable.

Ta This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of
Ta maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of
161 children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on
168 a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining
182 population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-
[165] rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity,
this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian
contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population
limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and fami-
lies were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid
Ta population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population
161 during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than
168 the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt
182 numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery
[165] after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must
have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers
to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Ta Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were
Ta also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as popula-
586 tion trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at
591 least temporary matrilineal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin
612 group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara
in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the
extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other
Ta hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara
616 society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to
561 men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men
or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the To-
Ta pirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous.
476 Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal
264 for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desir-
574 es of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the
[196] "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic
[535] production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their technological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers.

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 88 ff.

CULTURE

SUSTINENCE ACTIVITIES

[137] The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterised by scrub growth and groups of buriti palma. These plains are flooded during the excessive rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

[241] Farming.—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [494] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also [241] it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work festival (apacirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are [616] afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, generally [476] individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants [423] together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apacirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaó) at the end of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the [241] dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

[32] Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is [252] the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupi* groups, however, the

Weapons.—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.6 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Polonotyrgon Mistris*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirape* social organization: men's ceremonial moieties, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561

Ceremonial moieties.—All *Tapirape* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial moieties. Each of these moieties is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wirā" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirape* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials. 616 ● [345] [423]

Feast groups.—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called *tāitupawā* (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirape* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. 574 264 [582]

those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (monikahô) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been admitted learned from the *Carajá*. [646] • [171] [177]

Dancing.—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the *Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step. [241] 535

Games.—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games are unknown. [171] [525] 526

Stimulants.—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [751] [756] [789] 276 755